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Before all, the American people must learn to be satisfied with that natural progress which is necessarily slow. Should we continue to sail rapidly down the stream of pseudo-assimilation, a complete catastrophe could hardly be avoided. The social and economic conditions of the islands cannot be regenerated by state manifesto. Improvement can only come through the patient work of decades, and it is only on the basis of more highly developed economic conditions that a suitable social civilization can be erected. Sweetness and light in this case takes the form of business common sense and the avoidance of far-reaching schemes of artificial assimilation. We shall never succeed in making Americans of the Filipinos; but we may hope by a careful, considerate, natural policy, to assist in raising their life to a higher plane, though it must remain their life, and will never be ours.

## DISCUSSION.

HENRY C. MORRIS: From the discussion of this morning, it appears that there is urgent and special need for the education of the people in matters relating to colonization and colonial policy. While the effects of this meeting will, without doubt, be widespread, they can at best be only temporary. The acquisition of colonies or dependencies has been met, by a very considerable number of the people of the United States, with disfavor. There has been, on the part of certain politicians and one of the great political parties, a disposition to decry any system of colonization. However ardent the aspirations of others in the direction of colonial empire may be, it must be confessed that with the legislative organization and administrative features of our country, numerous difficulties are presented to the assimilation or incorporation of colonies, under whatever name they may be known. There is no doubt that the United States cannot well adopt, as an entirety, any system which may have been elaborated by another power; differing conditions require varied methods of treatment. With the masses of people and the larger proportion of the members of our working political bodies, unfamiliar with the history of colonial possessions; or even at the best with only the short experience

afforded them within the last six or seven years, it is not surprising that mistakes both in policy and in method should have been made and that embarrassing situations in some instances may have ensued. The need of the times in the elaboration and improvement of colonial government, administration and service seems emphatically to be an opportunity to become familiar with the experience of other nations under similar conditions. It is comparatively easy to criticise, but far more difficult to formulate plans and procedure. To the representatives of such an organization as the American Political Science Association, the task of aiding and assisting in this undertaking would seem to be peculiarly fitting. While not perhaps advocating at this moment the establishment of any distinct organization, it would appear that one of the most helpful steps that might be taken, would be the inauguration of some association in the nature of a colonial institute, the purpose of which should pre-eminently be the study of problems connected with colonization and colonial policy; which might also, by reason of its peculiar advantages, be in a position to recommend and secure the adoption of many beneficial and advantageous suggestions. The Government would, undoubtedly, in time, recognize the value of such an organization and those officials under whose direct supervision the administration of the colonies falls, would soon appreciate the assistance and help offered them. Would it not be feasible for this present association to establish a colonial section charged with duties and functions of such a nature? Gradually it might expand and develop the field of its operations until it became not only a permanent adjunct in the colonial system but also a potent force for good, in the development of an interest at home in colonial affairs as well as in the preservation of the colonies themselves from the evils of a harmful policy and the effects of maladministration.

THEODORE MARBURG: Professor Reinsch's paper is so full and so suggestive that it is difficult to choose between the subjects which invite discussion.

There are certain large aspects of the question which might

profitably be dwelt upon. One of these is the problem of the race or people which is to carry forward the work of progress in outlying regions. It is important, for example, to distinguish between the welfare of the present inhabitants of a country and the welfare of the country itself. When we say that we mean to administer our dependencies for their own benefit, and not for ours, it should mean that we are concerned less with the well-being of the people who happen to be there at the moment than with the future welfare of the dependency. The units of the existing population, like ourselves, are a passing phenomenon. They should, of course, suffer no injustice, but should they on the other hand be favored as against another race who might lay a better foundation for the future welfare of the country? What we are concerned in, and what the world is concerned in, is the upbuilding of civilization everywhere in all parts of the earth. Porto Rico, for example, contains a mixed population in which thus far the Spaniard, through education, the advantage of capital and government favor, has been the dominant factor. History would indicate that the Spaniard cannot stand up against the Teutonic peoples; and if the island is opened up freely to the latter the chances are that the present inhabitants will be relegated to an inferior position. Even though this result were positive, would we not be justified in inflicting this hardship upon the present inhabitants in order to have the island take rank with the enlightened and progressive places of the earth? The Spaniard in California has been brushed aside in this manner; but as a result that region has developed untold riches of agriculture, mining and industry. Through her great universities and schools and through her local government California is to-day making important contributions to human welfare. Why is not fertile Porto Rico capable of like development?

When we turn to the Philippines we find a different condition. The European has formed the habit of looking down upon the dark-skinned peoples. The backwardness of these peoples, until recently, has justified such an attitude, but now the phenomenal progress of Japan must give us pause. There is no

basis for a belief that the Filipino can be started on the road to progress, but neither is there sufficient ground for disbelief. It is our duty to at least give him a chance by placing within his reach the means of enlightenment.

As Prof. Reinsch has pointed out, the islands need a common language and English will be the most useful language for them. Civilization resides in language more than in any one instrument because the language carries with it the philosophy—scientific, ethical and political. If we can but light the spark of purpose in the Filipino, as it has been lighted in the Japanese, the rest of the task will be easy. Without that, mere book knowledge or even industrial knowledge will prove of little avail. We may find after all that the most that we can do for these people is to establish justice and provide the means of education. But if more is to be done, the problem can best be approached by trying to convey to them through language the spirit of Western civilization. Material prosperity can mean little to them unless it brings this with it.

W. W. WILLOUGHBY: There would appear to be a tendency upon the part of students of the problems of colonial government as they are presented to the United States to commit two errors. The first of these is not sufficiently to bear in mind that the United States in its dealings with its insular possessions has deliberately undertaken the performance of a dual task, the two phases of which are to an extent mutually incompatible. We are now endeavoring to supply our dependent territories with as efficient an administration of their public affairs as is possible, and at the same time are seeking to educate their inhabitants in the art of honest, efficient, self-government by granting to them as much local self-government as circumstances will possibly warrant. Thus we have knowingly consented to sacrifice to a certain degree success in administrative efficiency in order to obtain that which, ultimately at least, we believe will be more valuable,—development in such populations of powers of self-government. The second error, which it would seem that the critics of colonial problems generally fall into is that of attaching a relatively too

great importance to the central, or, as we term them when applied to Porto Rico and the Philippines, the "insular" governments, as compared with the local, that is, the provincial and municipal governments in those islands. Only the first step, and that by no means either the most difficult or the most important, has been taken in the government of a dependent territory when there has been determined the relation in which such territories shall stand to the parent State, and the form of central government that shall be established for it. The more delicate, and therefore the more difficult task, is to provide it with local institutions. It is especially within this field that the necessity arises of taking into account local needs, local prejudices, local habits, and, in general, the racial characteristics and political capacities of the people who are to be governed. It is especially in this field that the art of honest efficient government is to be taught and this may best be done by granting to the inhabitants, as far as possible, the administration of their own local affairs, retaining in the hands of the insular governments but a supervisory power which is to be exercised only in cases of the misuse of the local powers so granted.

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## STATE BOARDS OF HEALTH.

CHARLES V. CHAPIN.

In our colonial history, and also in the early part of our national existence, public sanitation was almost exclusively a function of local government. As occasion arose from the presence of epidemics, the towns through their regular officers, or more often through special committees, would take such preventive measures as in each case seemed to them best. It was not until the close of the eighteenth century that permanent boards of health were established, and for three quarters of a century such boards were confined almost exclusively to the larger cities.

If we except Louisiana, where a state board of health was established in 1855, almost exclusively for the purpose of maintaining quarantine at New Orleans, the first state to